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TORISM

THE

Worſt of the Two, &c.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

Worth of the Two, &c.

TORISM the Worſt of the TWO.

A

DISCOURSE

Shewing, That the

CHURCH

AND

CONSTITUTION

OF

ENGLAND,

HAVE BEEN

Ever ſince the REFORMATION,

AND STILL ARE,

In more Danger from the Principles and Practices of the TORIES, than from thoſe of the PAPISTS.

LONDON:

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THE advancing of this Propoſition will ſeem a Paradox to thoſe that have no juſt Notion of *Liberty*, nor of the Happineſs of our *Conſtitution*. They will object to me, That *Tories* are *Proteſtants*; that they are for the *Church*; and ſurely ſuch as are for the *Church*, cannot be Worſe than *Papiſts*. But to this I may reply, That by how much an open profeſt Enemy is more eaſily to be guarded againſt, than a falſe malignant Friend, or an Enemy *without*, is leſs dangerous than an Enemy *within*; by ſo much is a *Tory* worſe than a *Papiſt*. It will readily be granted, by all that know what *Tories* have been in all Times ſince the *Reformation*, and what they ſtill are, that they are as bad as *Papiſts* in promoting *Superſtition*, in *Perſecution*, in *Tyranny*, and every thing that makes *Popery Wicked* and *Terrible*.

It

It is allowed by Hiſtorians, that the Deſign of the firſt *Reformers* was not to ſtay at the *Reformation* in King *Edward* the Sixth's Reign; and that will appear very plain, by ſeveral refuſing Preferments in the *Church* in the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s, upon her exacting *Conformity* to the *Surplice*, *&c.* by particular Injunctions in the Year 1566, as *Coverdale*, *Bale*, *Leaver*, *Sampſon*, *Pulleyn*, *Carliſle*, *Fox*, *Whitehead*, *Gilby*, *Gilpin*, *Withers*, and others. The *Tories*, headed by Archbiſhop *Parker*, Archbiſhop *Whitgift*, Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, *Bromley* and *Pickering* Lord Chancellors, by the Biſhops *Elmer*, *Cooper*, *Bridges*, *Bancroft* and others; prevail'd with that good Queen to be ſevere with all thoſe that ſhew'd any Diſpoſition to Charity and *Comprehenſion*. They would not part with the *leaſt* Article of Prerogative or Diſcipline, nor retrench the *leaſt* Form in Worſhip, for Peace ſake: They were rather ſorry that more of *Popery* had not been retained: And the modern *Tories* are exactly of the ſame Opinion.

I have aſſerted, that *Toriſm* is worſe than *Popery*; and to prove it, I ſhall ſhew it is ſo with reſpect to *Superſtition*, *Perſecution*, and *Tyranny*, for which Acts of Impiety and Injuſtice, the *Papiſts* loſt their Dominion in theſe Kingdoms.

Firſt, *That it is worſe than Popery with reſpect to Superſtition.* The Extravagances of the *Spaniſh*, *Portugueſe*, and *Italian Papiſts*, as to their *Legendary Saints*, their *Adoration* of Images, their Corporal Severities, *Proceſſions*, *Pilgrimages*, and the

like,

like, are Things disown'd and despis'd by the Polite and Learned Part of the *Popish* World. The wise and moderate *Catholicks* lay not so much stress on the outward Forms of Worship, as the *Tories* do on the *Surplice*, the Sign of the *Cross* in *Baptism*, the *Bowing* at the Name of *Jesus*, their Turning to the *East*, their Bowing to the *Altar*, their Kneeling at the *Eucharist*, *&c.* all which Forms and Ceremonies are lookt upon as *Essentials* by our *High-Church*, and as Things *Indifferent* by Learned and Religious *Papists*. I cannot call their requiring Obedience to the Book of *Sports on Sunday*, an Act of *Superstition*, because I think the proper Term for it, is *Profaneness by Law*. And in all my Reading, I never met with one Instance of a National Law to *profane the Lord's Day* in any *Popish* Country; yet this Law was established by the Advice and Authority of that famous High-Church Saint, *Laud*; and about which great Numbers of excellent Divines suffer'd *Persecution*. Many were suspended for not reading that Infamous Book, and others forc'd to fly into *Holland*, *Germany* and *America*, from the Rage of *Laud*, *Wren*, *Peirse*, *Lyndsy*, and other *Tory* Prelates, for no other Reason than their Noncomplyance with a Law that enjoined the Breach of God's Law, written with his own Finger on the Tables upon Mount *Sinai*. In this, sure, *Torism* may well be deem'd worse than *Popery*, since *Popery* never enjoyn'd, tho' it has conniv'd at the Abuse of the *Sabbath*, and never carry'd *Superstition* to Lewdness and

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Immorality. For our *English Tories* were *Superstitious* even in their *Revels*, pretending to serve God by Disobedience to his *Fourth* Commandment, and to be *Dutiful* even by *Rebellion*. The Superstition of *Popery* has always some specious Appearance of Respect and Awe, of Reverence and Devotion to the Powers in Heaven: But our *Tory* Superstition, especially in the Case of the Book of *Sports*, was the very Reverse of the *Papists*; and for fear of keeping close to Scriptural Obedience, they acted the quite contrary, insulting all Religion, that they might not be thought to be too Religious; Sin being to them more eligible than *Puritanism*. As to their other Forms and Ceremonies, which the true Church of *England* comply with only, and rather suffer than approve, the *Tories* every where to a Man build *more* upon them, *than* on the Fundamentals of Religion. Wherever you find an ignorant Biggot, observe him at Church; see how zealous he is in the *Outsides* of Devotion; watch how he faces to the East when he says the Creed; how he distinguishes himself by the lowest Obeysance at the Word *Jesus*; what a *Scrape* he has for the Altar as he passes by it; how loud in the *Responses*, which however he repeats like a Parrot; And at *Sermon*, see how dull, how sleepy, how listless, or how restless he sits, unless some Factious Priest keeps him awake by preaching Sedition or Persecution, by flattering Faction, and railing at the Government under stupid Disguises, or

with

with ſcandalous and provoking Impudence, There's not a Man of them that would not vote for more *Ceremonies* out of meer ſpite to *Fanaticiſm*; more *Myſteries*, ſaid a Man of ſuper-abundant Faith, to put it ſtill to the Experiment. Our *Tories* are for more *Form*, to make up what they want in *Power*; and if they do not take in all the Jargon and all the Buffoonery of *Popery*, it is not ſo much out of an ill Opinion of that Church, as a vain Opinion of *High-Church*, which is the vaineſt Church upon the Face of the Earth. All thoſe Forms and Ceremonies, which are, in their Abuſe of them, rather ridiculous than decent, and rather Grimace than Devotions, are deriv'd to them from *Popery*. Kneeling at the *Euchariſt* was never known till the Papacy of *Honorius*, *Anno* 1214. The *Surplice* was brought into the Church by Pope *Adrian*, *Anno* 796. And this Badge of that barbarous Age was borrow'd from the *Pagan* Prieſthood: Yet ſome of our inferior illiterate Clergy, to colour the Filthineſs of their Morals, affect mightily this Purity of Habit, and not only read the Service in the *Surplice*, but deliver their Preachments in it. 'Tis true, this is done chiefly by thoſe whom we may call Spiritual *Fops*; however, it is what our *Tories* are highly pleaſed with, and reckon it a great Addition to the Sanction of the Preacher's Doctrine. Their Bowing to the Altar, is an Innovation of the *Romiſh* Church. The Primitive Church had no Altars, and therefore there

could be no Bowings to them. Pope *Sylveſter* was the firſt that ordained the *Conſecration of Altars*, in the Fourth Century. The ſame may be ſaid of their Conſecration of Churches, and the dedicating of them to Saints and Angels, which *Laud* and his Diſciples perform'd with ſo much Pomp and Affectation. St. *Auſtin* ſays, *If we build a Church of Stone or Wood unto any moſt excellent Saint or Angel, are we not accurſed and anathematized from the Truth, and from the Church of God? becauſe then we give unto the Creature that Service which is due unto God only.* Contra Maxim. lib. 1. Their Organs, which have occaſioned ſo much Expence and Difference in Pariſhes, were introduced by Pope *Vitellianus* in the Eighth Century. Now as concerning theſe Organs, the Superſtition of the *Tories* is monſtrous in Compariſon of the *Papiſts*. The latter are extreamly curious both in their Inſtruments and their Performers: Their Church-Muſick is certainly very efficacious in moving the Paſſions, whatever it may be in exciting true Devotion. But ſuch for the Generality are our Organs, our Organiſts, our Church-Muſick and Muſicians, excepting ſome Churches and Chapels in *London*, and ſome few (but very few) Cathedrals and Pariſh Churches in the Country, that the Noiſe ſtrikes Horror inſtead of enflaming Zeal. The Tones of the Inſtruments, the Inſufficiency of the Performers, and the *Tell* of the *Singers*, are enough to deafen a delicate Ear, and frighten a Perſon of good

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Judgment. Tho' the Heart is always acceptable in its Operations, let the Faculties of the Bodily Organ be never ſo mean; yet Diſcord can never mend Devotion. And one would think the *Tories* were as much Enemies to *Harmony* in Muſick, as they are to *Union* in Society. Their Obſervation of *Feſtivals*, and in a particular Manner the 30th of *January*, is as Superſtitious as the Obſervation of *Popiſh Feaſts* by the moderate *Papiſts*. *Chriſtmas*-Day with them is more holy than the *Lordſday*: *Good-Friday* comes next to it, and they affect Diſtinction by their perverſe Zeal on thoſe Occaſions; yet the Holineſs of any Feaſts was a thing not known to Chriſtian *Antiquity*. St. *Jerom* ſays of them, *Non quod Celebrior ſit dies illa, qua convenimus.* *Rogation-Week* was ordained by Pope *Leo*, *Anno* 444; *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays* by Pope *Boniface*; *Vigils* and Saints *Eves* by the ſame in the Fifth Century. But it would be endleſs if I ſhould go about to particularize all the Inſtances wherein our *Tories* do almoſt refine on the *Romiſh* Superſtition, and build their Eternal Salvation thereon. The true Church of *England* complies with theſe Things for Peace ſake, but laments the Abuſe of them by *High-Church*, who neglecting the Practice of Virtue and Piety, make the Eſſence of Religion to conſiſt in ſuch Things as diſtinguiſh them from the pureſt and beſt Chriſtians. I am far from thinking the Complyance with Forms and Ceremonies eſtabliſhed by a National Church in a legal Way, ſin-

ful, where that Complyance has not Idolatry or Superſtition in it: But where *Superſtitious* Acts are made the Touchſtone of *Religion*, as by our *Tories*, there their Superſtition is ſinful, and damnable without that Repentance that carries along with it true *Abſolution*. This brings me to the Adoration exacted by their Prieſts to themſelves for abſolving Sinners, and taking upon them the Divine Authority. To make nearer Approaches to the Church of *Rome*, they now preach up *Confeſſion*. The *Bretts*, and other worthleſs pragmatical Clergymen, aſſert, that it ſhould be *Auricular*, and that no Confeſſion or Abſolution is valid without it; Nay indeed, unleſs that Confeſſion be made *to*, and the Abſolution given *by* the Pariſh-Prieſt, which is a greater Conſtraint on the Pariſhioners among *Tories* than among *Papiſts*, where the *Directors* in any City, Town, or Country, can take the Confeſſion and give the Abſolution.

I do not here undertake to anſwer any of the Objections made by *Diſſenters* to our Church Worſhip, nor to object my ſelf againſt Conformity to it; only to obſerve wherein *High-Church* corrupts that Worſhip by Superſtition, and are as bad as the *Papiſts*. This *Cambden*, *Heylin*, and other *Tory* Writers make their Brags of; particularly the latter, who writing the Hiſtory of Queen *Elizabeth*, tells us, ‘ That ‘ truly in the *Litany* publiſhed by King *Henry* ‘ the Eighth and King *Edward* the Sixth, there

‘ was

'was a Prayer to be delivered from the *Ty-*
'*ranny and the deteſtable Enormities of the Biſhops of*
'Rome; which (adds he) was now expung'd,
'as giving Matter of Scandal to the Well-
'wiſhers to Popery. The Expreſſions which aſſerted the *Real Preſence* in the Sacramental Bread and Wine, and had been left out by the Firſt Reformers, were in ſome meaſure reſtor'd by the Biſhops in the Beginning of her Reign, to the greater Scandal of the Reformed: And the *Tories* were for going back to the Old Leaven, which ſome thought would have been accompliſh'd, had it not been for the Archbiſhops *Grindal* and *Sands*, and the Biſhops *Pilkington*, *Jewell*, *Horn*, &c. the Lord Keeper *Bacon*, the Lord Treaſurer *Burleigh*, the great Earls of *Bedford*, *Warwick*, *Leiceſter* and *Huntingdon*, the Lords *Grey* and *Howard*, Sir *Francis Walſingham*, Sir *Walter Mildmay*, Sir *Amias Paulet*, Sir *Francis Knolles*, Mr. *Beal* and other Courtiers, who were zealous for a farther Reformation, and for Liberty of Conſcience to Proteſtants. The *Tories* made their Advantage of the Queen's liking of Popiſh Rites and Ceremonies. And thus were many things retained, which *High-Church* cheriſhes as the dear Relicts of their Mother-Church, which is that of *Rome*; and they have ever ſince endeavour'd to eſtabliſh their Impoſitions by Power. Which brings me to my

Second Article, That *Toriſm is Worſe than Popery with reſpect to Perſecution.* 'Tis true, we have

have not any Examples of *Pariſian Maſſacres*, unleſs the Blood that was ſpilt to eſtabliſh the *Laudenſian* Diſcipline, between the Years 1640 and 1648, may be laid to the Charge of *Toriſm*. Above 200000 *Engliſhmen* and Proteſtants fell by the Sword in that Period: However I will not inſiſt upon that, nor attempt to prove by Facts, a Compariſon which will not bear it by the Nature of the Thing. The *Papiſts* are Fifty to One in Number to our *Tories*, and conſequently have had more Opportunities to exerciſe their Cruelty. It will be incumbent upon me therefore to ſhew, that our *Tories* have the ſame bloody and implacable Diſpoſition towards thoſe that *diſſent* from them in Principle as well as Worſhip; and if they have not had ſo many Opportunities to exerciſe it as the *Papiſts*, it has only been for want of *Power*, and not for want of *Will*. We have always had a Proteſtant Party in *England*, who have been on the Watch to defend their Religion and Liberties againſt the Aſſaults of their Adverſaries; and whenever they have been in Danger, God has been pleas'd to own them in a ſurpriſing Manner, to the Confuſion of their Enemies. *High-Church* has the Vanity to pretend ſhe is the true Primitive Church, and conſequently has the Right to give the Law. If by *Primitive Church* ſhe pleads the *Right of the Papiſts*, and, to prove her Legitimacy, ſhews the Marks and Semblances of her Mother, I have no more to ſay, but am willing

ling ſhe ſhould have all the hereditary Honours that true Proteſtants own to be due to the *Whore of Babylon*. But if ſhe dates her Authority from the *Reformation*, then I deny her Pretence to Antiquity; for the true Church of *England*, as by Law it is eſtabliſh'd, renounces *Popery*, and has all her Superſtitions in Abhorrence. Biſhop *Pilkington* ſaid, *It is our Fault that we do not differ from the Papiſts in* all *our Miniſtry*. Biſhop *Bilſon*, defending the Reformed Churches againſt the Slanders of the *Papiſts*, ſays in Anſwer to a *Roman*, *We are ſo far from admitting the full Doſe of your Hereſies, that we can by no means admit* one *Dram of your Ceremonies*. Theſe Proteſtant Biſhops liv'd at the Time of the Reformation, and knew upon what Principles it was founded. I ſhall add the Teſtimony of two other Divines of the Elder Days of *Proteſtantiſm*, and Doctors of our Eſtabliſhed Church; I mean, Dr. *Humphreys* and Dr. *Fulk*: The former having aſſerted, that *we ought to refuſe to conform our ſelves to the Enemies of God in* any *of their Ceremonies*, profeſſes his Deſire and Hope of the *utter* aboliſhing of them, as Monuments of Popiſh Superſtition that yet remain in our Church. And Dr. *Fulk* ſaid to a Papiſt, *If a Man miſlike our Form of Service, as not differing ſufficiently from yours, he ſheweth his greateſt Zeal in Deteſtation of your Idolatry and Blaſphemy*. And again, *We abhor whatſoever hath but a Shew of Popery*. Inſtead of which, our *Tories* are fondeſt of whatever has that Shew. The

famous

famous Bishop *Jewel*, speaking in his *Apology* of *Persecution*, says, 'He that is a Persecutor is 'no Sheep of Christ's, but a Wolf; which 'should make any Man afraid to feel any Per-'secuting Motion arise in his Breast, as being 'Indications of a *Cainish*, *Ishmaelitish* Nature, 'and a certain Sign that he is none of the 'Sheep of Christ. The Learned Dr. *More*, in his Preface to the *Mystery of Godliness*, declares, 'That it is an Antichristian Use of Church-'Government, to direct it to the upholding 'scandalous Ceremonies, and the insnaring 'Inventions of Men. *He adds*, 'What is it 'but a notorious Specimen of Pride, thus to 'force others to acknowledge, by making them 'profess to be of their Opinion? And what 'but Injustice and barbarous Cruelty, to afflict 'Men for what they cannot help, and in what 'they do not sin? And what but plain Re-'bellion against God, to wrest his Scepter out 'of his Hand, by which he ruleth in the 'Consciences of Men? *Again*, A mutual A-'greement in bearing with one another's *Dis-'sents* in the Nonfundamentals of Religion, is 'really a greater Ornament of Christianity 'than the most exact Uniformity imaginable, 'as being an eminent Exercise of *Charity*, the 'Flower of all Christian Graces, and the best 'way, I think, at the long run, to make the 'Church as uniform as can justly be desir'd. *Take away Tyranny*, said the Great *Chillingworth*, *and restore Christians to their just and* full *Liberty*

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of captivating their Understandings to Scripture only, and as Rivers when they have a free Passage run all to the Ocean, so it may well be hoped, by God's Blessing, that Universal Liberty thus moderated, may quickly reduce Christendom to Peace and Unity. These Thoughts of Peace (added he) *I am persuaded, come from the God of Peace, and to his Blessing I commend them.* Bishop *Stillingfleet*, in the Preface to his *Irenicum*, writes thus: *Christ, who came to take away the insupportable Yoke of the* Jewish *Ceremonies, certainly did never intend to gall the Necks of the Disciples with another instead of it; and it would be strange the Church should require more than Christ himself did, and make more Conditions of Communion than our Saviour did of Discipleship.* To these I may add the Testimonies which have been born by the Fathers and Sons of the true Church of *England* against Persecution, from King *Edward* the Sixth to these our own Days; and among them you would find Archbishop *Usher*, Bishop *Davenant*, Bishop *Hall*, and above all, the very Learned and very Worthy Mr. *Hales* of *Eaton*. Indeed, the true Spirit of the Church of *England* is a Spirit of Meekness and Charity, of Pity and Love, agreeable to the holy Doctrine she professes, as taught in Sacred Writ. But the Spirit of *High-Church* is Envious, Furious, full of Pride, Hatred, Malice and Cruelty; and to whom that Spirit belongs, let all good Christians and good *Protestants* judge. That the *Tories* have ever been of this perse-

cuting Spirit, I ſhall now briefly ſet forth; and make it appear, that the *Papiſts* themſelves never acted with more Rage and Inveteracy againſt the *Proteſtants*, than the *Tories* have ſhewn againſt *Engliſhmen*, profeſſing the ſame Faith which they pretend to be of themſelves. The *Papiſts*, who know them very well, have themſelves ſaid as much of our *Tories*. The Lord *Caſtlemain*, in his Book againſt Dr. *Floyd*, has theſe Expreſſions: "Sure theſe Men that "perſecute others, are out of their Wits; "for if they ſhould go but to reckon them- "ſelves together with all their Adherents, "they would find, they are not the ſixth Part "of the Reformed People in *England*. *Again*, "they have not much Reaſon to reproach "the *Roman Catholicks* for the *Pariſian* Maſ- "ſacre, that of *Ireland*, and the *Gunpowder- "Plot*, ſince theſe Maſſacres were committed "only upon thoſe Perſons whom *Rome* had "anathematiz'd, and proſcrib'd as *Hereticks* "and *Apoſtates*: And it was never known "that *Rome* perſecuted (as the Biſhops do) "thoſe who adhere to the ſame Doctrine and "Faith, and eſtabliſhed an Inquiſition againſt "the Bigots among them, nor againſt the Pro- "feſſors of the ſtricteſt Piety." The Biſhops he ſpeaks of, were Dr. *Sheldon*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Wren*, Biſhop of *Norwich*, Dr. *Ward*, Biſhop of *Salisbury*, Dr. *Lamplugh*, Biſhop of *Exeter*, and two Biſhops of *Bath* and *Wells*, Dr. *Moor* and Dr. *Ken*; Dr. *Bland-*

ford,

ford, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, of whom and Archbiſhop *Sheldon*, the Dutcheſs of *York* (the late Queen's Mother) was wont to ſay, That their favourable Speeches of *Popery* converted her to that Religion; Dr. *Frampton*, Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, Dr. *White*, Biſhop of *Peterborough*; and in a Word, thoſe *High-Church* Prelates, who in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, gave their Votes, as that King's Penſioners did, to eſtabliſh a Spiritual and Temporal Tyranny, and were generally called the *Dead Weight*. Having ſhewn that the Principles of *Liberty* are as old as the *Reformation*; that *Charity* was one of the diſtinguiſhing Characters of the firſt Reformed Biſhops; that it is the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, and none can juſtly claim a Title to Memberſhip of that Church, who do not deteſt all Perſecution for Conſcience ſake, in Matters that are not the Eſſentials of Religion: I ſhall now ſhew how the *Tories* have always been Perſecutors, and that Cruelty is inſeparable from their Principles.

What Reaſon had *Sacheverel*, that Shame of his Profeſſion, to fall ſo heavily on the Memory of Archbiſhop *Grindal*, in his *Condemn'd* Sermon, but becauſe that excellent Prelate was a Man of Piety and Moderation, and an Enemy to Oppreſſion. *Whitgift*, his Succeſſor, was a ſtanch Churchman; and no ſooner was he *Enthron'd*, (to uſe the *High-Church* Phraſe for the Epiſcopal Chair) but the Spirit that rag'd

within him, ſet the Kingdom in a Flame. Miniſters were outed of their Livings, for ſpeaking againſt *Spiritual Courts*. A Letter from the Privy Council to the Biſhop of *London*, a Creature of *Whitgift*'s, ſhews us, that theſe Perſecutors were not animated by a ſincere Affection to true Religion, but by Pride and Avarice, to preſerve and enlarge their Authority and Revenues. The Lords ſay in their Letter, "Lamentable is the State of the Church "in the County of *Eſſex*, where there is a "great Number of Zealous and Learned "Preachers ſuſpended from their Cures, their "Benefices remaining for the moſt part va-"cant; and where their void Rooms are fill-"ed, the Perſons are neither Men of Learn-"ing, nor of good Name, and very many of "them notoriouſly unfit, chargeable with Igno-"rance and with great enormous Faults." By which it appears, that the *Tories* Concern for Religion is all Grimace, and that they have at all times (their Prieſthood eſpecially) been Perſons of the ſame vile Character; ſuch as the Lords ſay theſe *Eſſex* Parſons were chargeable with; "Drunkenneſs, Filthineſs of Life, "Gameſters at Cards, Haunters of Alehouſes, "and ſuch like; againſt whom we hear not "of any Proceeding, but that they are quiet-"ly ſuffered, to the Slander of the Church, "to the Offence of good People, yea, to the "famiſhing them for want of good Teaching, "and thereby dangerous to the ſubverting of

"many

" many Weaklings from their Duties to " God and her Majeſty, by ſecret *Jeſuites* " and counterfeit *Papiſts*." Thus we ſee what the *Tory* Prieſthood were made of in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time; that they were Ignorant, Lewd and Seditious: And it muſt be ſaid of 'em, that they are true to the Stuff ſtill; the very ſame Perſons in King *GEORGE*'s Reign, ſubverting *Weaklings* from *their Duty to God and his Majeſty*. The Letter the Lord Treaſurer *Burleigh* wrote to Archbiſhop *Whitgift*, informs us what Diſtraction that Proud, Stubborn, Bigotted Prelate brought the Nation into; that the Trouble he gave the Miniſters of State, was one of the greateſt Difficulties of thoſe Times, and all by his vexatious perſecuting Temper.

" I am ſorry to trouble you ſo often as I " do, *ſays the Lord Treaſurer*; but I am more " troubled my ſelf, not only with many pri- " vate Petitions of ſundry Miniſters, recom- " mended from Perſons of Credit for peace- " able Perſons, yet greatly troubled; but alſo " am I daily now charged by Counſellors " and Publick Perſons, to neglect my Duty, in " not ſtaying theſe your Grace's Proceedings, ſo " vehement and ſo general againſt Miniſters " and Preachers, as the *Papiſts* thereby are " greatly encouraged, and evil-diſpos'd Per- " ſons animated, and thereby the Queen's Ma- " jeſty's Safety endangered. With theſe kind " of Arguments I am daily aſſaulted. And

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" now, my Lord, I am come to the ſight of " *An Inſtrument of Twenty-four Articles* of great " Length and Curioſity, formed in a *Romiſh* " Style, to examine all manner of Miniſters " in this Time, without Diſtinction of Per- " ſons; which Articles are intituled, *Apud* " *Lambeth, May* 1581. to be executed *Ex Of-* " *ficio mero, &c.* Which I find ſo curiouſly " penned, ſo full of Branches and Circumſtan- " ces, that I think the *Inquiſition* of *Spain* uſe " not ſo many Queſtions to trap and compre- " hend their Prey.

Here is the Opinion of that great Stateſman the Lord *Burleigh*, that this *Tory* Prelate would have impos'd greater Hardſhips on the *Proteſtant* Clergy of our Church, than are to be met with in the *Spaniſh Inquiſition*. And thus, in the Opinion of one of the wiſeſt Heads that ever was in the Miniſtry of *England*, are the *Tories* more ſevere in their *Perſecutions* than even the *Inquiſitors*. What I ſay, can be of no Authority; but the Judgment of ſo illuſtrious a Politician will, no doubt, weigh with all Reaſonable Minds, and my Aſſertion, That the *High-Church* are as bad, and really Worſe than the *Papiſts* in their *Perſecutions*, be ſufficiently proved. His Lordſhip proceeds:

" I know, the Canoniſts can defend theſe " with all their Particles; but ſurely, under your " Grace's Correction, their Judicial and Canoni-

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" cal Sifting of poor Miniſters, is not to Edify " and Reform.

A bold Truth! which is enough confirmed by Modern Examples of the Behaviour of *High-Church*. Reformation and Edification, it is plain, are not in all their Thoughts: They would not anſwer their bad Ends, which are *Profit* and *Power*. The making People Good, would naturally incline them to Peace, Charity, Beneficence, and all the Chriſtian Virtues, which are all inconſiſtent with *Tory* Maxims. Therefore the Salvation of Souls is not the Thing they aim at; for Souls cannot be ſaved without thoſe Virtues; nor is the Preſervation of the *Church*, what they are in Truth concern'd for; the *Church* being the School of thoſe Divine Leſſons. Our *Church*'s Danger is then no farther their Care, than as it is poſſeſt of the Temporalities handed down to her by our *Popiſh* Anceſtors.

" I think, *continues his Lordſhip*, Miniſters " ought not to anſwer to all theſe nice Points, " except they were very notorious Offenders " in *Papiſtry* or *Hereſy*. (I write with the Te- " ſtimony of a good Conſcience.) This kind " of Proceeding is too much ſavouring the " *Romiſh Inquiſition*, and is rather a Device to " ſeek for Offenders, than to reform any; " ſeeking by *Examination* to urge them to " accuſe themſelves, and then puniſh them.

There cannot be any more unexceptionable Proof of the Diſpoſition of *High-Church* to *Perſecution*.

ſecution. And that this Diſpoſition was rooted in that Party from the Beginning, will appear by the rough Anſwer of the Archbiſhop.

" I have taken upon me the Defence of the " Rites of the Church of *England*, to oppoſe " the Sects or Schiſms therein, to reduce all " the Miniſters thereof to Uniformity. (*Remember what the Reverend and Learned Dr.* More *ſays of that Uniformity, as I have before quoted it.*) " Herein I intend to be con- " ſtant, and not to waver with every Wind. " In this, your Lordſhip and others, all things " conſidered, ought in Duty to aſſiſt and " countenance me. It is ſtrange that a Man " in my Place ſhould be ſo encountred, and " for not yielding ſhould be accounted Wil- " ful. If my Friends herein forſake me, I " truſt God will not, neither the Law, nor " her Majeſty, who hath laid this Charge on " me and is able to protect me." Though his Deſign was ſo contrary to Edification and Reformation, ſo like the *Inquiſition* of *Spain*, ſo troubleſome to the Government, ſo unjuſt to the ſuffering Clergy of our Church, ſo dangerous to the Queen's Perſon; yet is the Name of God, and the Name of the Queen made uſe of to warrant his *Perſecutions*. The *Church* and the *Queen* were Names that had the ſame Uſe with *High-Church*, during the Traiterous Adminiſtration of the Men in Power three Years ago. The *Church* and the

the *Queen* were Words they not only were very Zealous for, but very often very Drunk over; and how they introduce their *Church* and their *King* now in the Pope's Dominions, is too well known, and too much a Grievance to be enlarg'd upon.

The Brevity of this Treatiſe will not admit of my entring far into the Rubbiſh of *Tory* Hiſtory: What I have ſaid will ſerve to give us an Idea of the Principles of *Toriſm* as to *Perſecution*, in the Infancy of the *Reformation*; and they are the ſame now, as they were then. The *Spiritual Courts* are poſſeſt of their Old Thunders, and arm'd with New ones, *Occaſional* and *Schiſmatical*. Their *Excommunications* for not paying *Tithes*, for *Scolding*, for not paying *Church-Rates* and *Poor-Rates*, are ſtill in full Force; and whoever is acquainted with the Proceſſes of thoſe Courts, knows that *Tithes*, and *Calling Names*, and *Pariſh-Rates*, bring much more Griſt to their Mills, than *Immorality* and *Profaneneſs*. Now that the Thunder of the *Vatican* is become almoſt impotent, are our *High-Church* Prieſts preaching Leſſons of the Power of their *Excommunications*. Every little Vicar and Curate puts in his Claim to his Prerogative: And how vexatious it is in Country Places, where Twenty or Thirty Families are to be maintained by the *Fees* of them, I need not repeat. Yet ſee what the Learned Dr. *Jeremy Taylor*

ſays of ſuch Proceedings, in his *Ductor Dubitantium*. " For a trifling Cauſe to cut off a " Man *(which our Lay-Chancellors ſo familiarly* " *do)* from the Communion of the Church, " is to do as the Man in the Fable, who eſpying " a Fly upon his Neighbour's Forehead, went " to beat it off with a Hatchet, and ſo ſtruck " out his Brains." Now Biſhop *Taylor* was certainly as Zealous and as Knowing a *Churchman*, as ever the Church produced, very far from favouring *Schiſm*: And his Opinion of *Excommunication*, ſo much preach'd up, and ſo much practis'd by *High-Church* for *Trifles*, ſhall ſerve to prove what a Spirit they are poſſeſt with. If I had Room, I could fill Volumes with Inſtances of it; but I avoid Enlargement, intending this for the Uſe of thoſe that have not Leiſure to read much, nor Memory to retain long Diſcourſes. I am endeavouring to bring our Adverſaries to their Point, in as little Compaſs as poſſible; and whenever I am provoked to it, ſhall add ſo many terrible Examples, as will ſtrike all good Proteſtants with Amazement and Abhorrence.

If the Conduct of this *Faction* ſince his Majeſty King *GEORGE*'s happy Acceſſion to the Throne, had not been ſo *Seditious*, ſo *Traiterous*, ſo Impious, and ſo Inſolent, it would have been very Unkind and Uncharitable to have rak'd into their Old Crimes, a Thing which no Man of Common Humanity can

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take Delight in: But they are ſo impudent, and ſo incorrigible, that it is the Duty and Intereſt of every good *Briton*, to expoſe their Vices and Follies, and to unite in Love and Loyalty againſt their Wicked Devices. For whatever Appearances they put on, of *Church* and *Church Things*, their Bottom is foul and rotten: and Pride, Avarice, Hatred and Malice are the Biaſs that turns them.

To give farther Proofs of their *Perſecuting Spirit*, I might run through the Hiſtory of *England*, from the Death of Queen *Elizabeth* to this Time; which, excepting ſome *Lucid Intervals* ſince the *Revolution*, is the moſt inglorious Period of the *Britiſh* Story, occaſioned by the frequent Prevalency of the *Tory* Faction; For whenever they prevail, Diſcord rages, Peace vaniſhes, Trade ſinks, Credit is deſtroy'd, and all the Bleſſings of Life rendred taſtleſs and precarious.

I ſhall only mention ſome few Inſtances of their bitter Spirit of *Perſecution*, as it was exercis'd after *Whitgift*'s Death, towards not only *Diſſenters*, but good *Churchmen*. And I muſt take hold on this Occaſion to declare, that in my own poor Judgment, I am far from thinking it unlawful to conform to the National Church, and often bewail the Miſchiefs of *Diviſion* on account of Things held indifferent by the Learned. I have more a View to the *Faction*, *Sedition*, and *Rebellion*

of these bad *Britons* (a Name to which they are a Dishonour) than to their *Hypocrisy*. I do not believe there is One in Ten among themselves, that by *Torism* mean any thing more than *Tyranny* over their Neighbours, and subjecting them to their *Avarice* and *Pride*. And now that we have no other Enemies, I would do my utmost to disappoint all the Contrivances of those, who, like *Sampson*, would pull the House over their own Heads, to destroy those who are the *Rulers* in it.

Though King *James* the *First* had been bred a *Scots Presbyterian*, yet he fell in with *High-Church* in *England*, and by his Countenance, Archbishop *Bancroft* deprived 2 or 300 Orthodox Ministers, for not complying with the *Constitutions* he had procured in a *Convocation*. In *Laud*'s Time, there was no End of the Troubles that Moderate *Churchmen* met with. They were driven by Hundreds to *Holland*, *America*, *&c.* imprison'd, fin'd and beggar'd. The *High Commission* Court and the *Star-Chamber*, (both under *Tory* Direction) ruin'd more Families than ever the *Spanish Inquisition* did, not only Ministers, but Lay-Men, Members of Parliament, and many others of Quality, as well as more ordinary Persons. The *Tyrannical* Proceedings of those Courts, the Pillorying and Mutilating Lawyers, Physicians, Divines, Men of all Professions; the Extravagant Taxes, Imprisonments in Islands

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and Dungeons, and other Ways of intolerable *Perſecution* by *Laud* and his *Creatures*, were the true Cauſe of the ill Blood that broke out into a Civil War. This the Lord *Clarendon* owns in the Caſe of *Pryn*, *Baſtwick* and *Burton*, who were Churchmen of the *Moderate* Stamp, and had their Noſes ſlit, their Ears cut off, and their Eſtates rifled by *Laud*'s Procurement, for oppoſing his Spiritual Tyranny. How they behaved themſelves in King *Charles* the *Second*'s Reign; how they turn'd Two Thouſand Miniſters out of their Benefices; how they baniſh'd them Corporations; how they murder'd the beſt Proteſtants by packt Juries; how they impriſon'd and plunder'd many Thouſands of Families under Pretence of *Nonconformity*; how they whipt and puniſh'd others ſo barbarouſly, that they have petitioned to have been hang'd, to avoid their unheard of Barbarities, worſe than the *Galleys*; are Events too recent to need Repetition; Things the *Tories* are ſo far from Denying, that they Glory in them, and expreſs their Impatience under a Government that reſtrains them from ſuch Violence and Rapine. Shall we therefore ever humour ſo cruel and rapacious a Faction? Shall we give into their Deſigns, through Indolence or Stupidity? be amus'd and deceiv'd by them to our Deſtruction? We have a King on the Throne who deliver'd

livered us in the Time of our Extreme Peril, and when nothing but the Hand of God, in his Majesty's peaceable Accession to the Crown, could have saved this Nation from the Ruine the *Tories* were bringing upon us. Are they since become more Virtuous, more Loyal, more Humane, more Wise? Are they not still daring the Best of Governments by daily Provocations, defying Justice, and threatning us with Vengeance and Desolation? To make those Threats impotent, we must know them well: And truly they have given us Occasion enough to know them. If we know them well, we shall certainly never trust them more; but let them see, that they have no other Way to be Easy and Happy, but by Obedience to God's and the King's Laws; by Religion, Loyalty, good Manners, and good Nature; by Repentance, and Change of Life and Principles, if they have any Principles other than those that excite to persecute and ruine their Neighbours. All Men that love their King, their Church, and their Country, will rejoice at such their Repentance, will run more than half way to meet them, and embrace them in the Arms of Love; that all Distinctions of Parties, all Denominations but those of True Protestants and True Subjects to King *GEORGE*, and those of Papists and Rebels, may be forgotten, and *Britain* be a Land flowing with Charity and Love,

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as well as with Milk and Honey. These are the Sentiments, these the Wishes of those they call *Whigs*: And their Wishes and Sentiments are not thus, out of the least Apprehension of the Prevalency of their Adversaries. God has always been against them. Justice and Reason are against them; and, were their Principles known, all the World would be against them. For these Principles render them Enemies to Humane Nature, by their Want of Charity and Benignity, and by their advancing Tenets which tend directly to *Tyranny*, and *Tyranny* tends directly to the Destruction of Mankind. This brings me to my

Third Article, That *Torism is worse than Popery with respect to Tyranny*. There is not a Government upon Earth that is more Arbitrary and Absolute than Ours would be, if built upon *Tory* Principles. Before the *Reformation*, and while the Nation was *Popish*, there were several Notable Struggles for Liberty, in which the *Popish* Clergy, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Monks, and Priests, fell frequently in with the Defenders of that Noble Cause. Read the Histories of King *John*, *Edward* the Second, *Richard* the Second, and you will see how the *Romish* Prelates and Clergy stood in the Gap in the Worst of Times; how they Preached in their Pulpits, Voted in Parliaments, nay, and Fought

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in the Field againſt the Tyrannical Proceedings of the Court and Miniſtry. You will there meet with one Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Hubert*, preaching on *Vox Populi*; another Archbiſhop *Arundel*, crowning a *Revolution-King* in the Life-time of his Predeceſſor. The Majority of the Clergy were then true to the Publick Intereſt; but ſince the *Reformation*, when *High-Church* always aiming at Power, could not carry their Point by Reaſon or Juſtice, they have turn'd their Views to the Court. And as often as we had Princes that were more fond of the *Divine Right* given them by the *Prieſthood*, than that truly *Divine Right* given them by the *Law*; ſo often did they, by flattering thoſe Princes with Doctrines of Arbitrary Power, procure to themſelves an *Under-Tyranny*, and exercis'd that Arbitrary Power thro' the Nation. It is very eaſy to demonſtrate, that it was to *Laud*'s and *Strafford*'s Councils, that King *Charles* the Firſt ow'd all his Troubles. Thoſe *Tory* Miniſters put him upon raiſing the Tax of *Ship-Money* contrary to Law, on extorting illegal *Loans* and Impoſitions. *Strafford* adviſed the King to rule by an *Iriſh* Army. *Sibthorp*, *Manwaring*, *Montague*, and other *High-Church* Clergymen, preach'd, that it was a *damnable Sin to refuſe Obedience to the King's Will and Ordinances*, though contrary to Acts of Parliament. This was the Doctrine of the Court, and

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those that preach'd it were preferr'd: But Truth and Law found Defenders in other Places. *Strafford* and *Laud* fell by *Impeachments*; and after a bloody War to establish the Doctrine of the *Tories* by the Sword, *Liberty* had the *Victory*. True it is, some ambitious Designing Men made an ill Use of that Victory, in the Death of King *Charles*. However, this must be said, that the *Tories*, tho' not *Agents* in his Death, yet were the *Causes* of it, by putting him upon those Actions which reduc'd him to the sad Circumstances wherein we find him in the latter Part of his History.

It will not sure be required of us to give Proofs of the *Attempts* of the *Tories* to establish *Tyranny* in the Reign of King *Charles* II. whose History is crouded with such Events, and thereby rendred full of Distractions and Disgraces. I have undertaken to prove in a very short Way, that *Toriism* is Worse than *Popery*; I have given the Opinion of one great *Papist* already, and shall now add that of others to the same Purpose. In the Year 1675, the *Tories* went great Lengths towards establishing their Doctrine of Arbitrary and Absolute Power, by passing their *Bill of Abhorrence* thro' the Two Houses of

Parliament, tho' it met with ſo much Oppoſition, that the Courtiers did not care to take the *Odium* of it upon them; and ſo it was dropt. In the Debate about this Teſt, which oblig'd all Clergymen, and all Laymen, in Places of Truſt or Profit, to ſwear, *It was not Lawful on any Pretence whatſoever, to reſiſt*, &c. *or to endeavour any Alteration in the Church*, the Lord *Finch* firſt recommended it to the Houſe of Lords: The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* ſpoke frequently and warmly for it, as did ſeveral others of that venerable Order, when under the Influence of a bad Miniſtry. Againſt the Bill ſpoke the Lord *Stafford*, the Lord *Petre*, the Lord *Audley*, and Earl of *Briſtol*, all *Papiſts*. The Lord *Stafford* was at firſt for the Bill, but being convinc'd by the Arguments of the Duke of *Buckingham*, Lord Viſcount *Hallifax*, Lord *Clarendon*, Lord *Denbigh*, Lord *Aylesbury*, and others, he fell in with the *Patriots*, and voted for Liberty; inſiſting very much in one of his Speeches, that if there muſt be ſuch an Oath, care ſhould be *taken to preſerve the Freedom of Debates in Parliament*. But what ſaid the late Duke of *Leeds*, then Lord Treaſurer? *We muſt prevent Caballing*. The Earl of *Briſtol* made, in one of his Speeches againſt this

this *Tory* Teſt, that remarkable Diſtinction, *I am for the Church of* Rome, *but not the Court of* Rome; as much as to ſay, I am for the Hierarchy, for the Forms and Ceremonies, for the Doctrine and Diſcipline of my Church, but not for the Tyrannical Maxims of her Prieſts. What ſtanch *Tory* dares make ſuch a Declaration, and defy the Excommunication of his *Curate?* In this Debate, " which tended, *ſays a* " *late Author*, to reduce us in *England* to " the Terms of *French* or *Turkiſh* Slave- " ry, the *Roman* Catholicks more than " once gave bold Proofs in the Houſe of " Lords of their being better *Engliſhmen* " than the *Tories*. Upon which Occa- " ſion I ſhall confirm my own Aſſertion in this Article by the Authority of *Andrew Marvel*, Eſq; who, ſpeaking of the Debate about this Teſt, has theſe Expreſſions in his *Growth of Popery*: *But thus much I ſhall ſay of the* Roman Catholick *Peers, that if they were Safe in their Eſtates, and yet kept out of Office, their Votes in that Houſe would not be the moſt Unſafe to* England *of any ſort of Men in it.* As much as to ſay, the Votes of the *Tories* are more dangerous to our Free Conſtitution, than thoſe of the *Papiſts*. And if Arguments drawn from Facts as well as Rea-

ſon, if the Sentiments of *Papiſts* themſelves, and thoſe of the moſt enlightened of *Proteſtants*, are worth ſubmitting to, I think I need ſay no more on my Third and Laſt Head, that *Toriſm is Worſe than Popery with reſpect to Tyranny.* A Modern Author, whoſe Works have lately had a great Currency, ſays, *If we look into our Hiſtory before the Reign of* Henry VIII. *we ſhall not find the Clergy in ſuch ſlaviſh Diſpoſitions as the* Worſt *of them, tho' not the* Leaſt, *have ſince diſcover'd.*

Can any one deſire it of me, to prove the *Tories* to be Worſe than the *Papiſts* in promoting Arbitrary Power at the latter End of King *Charles*'s and the Beginning of King *James*'s Reign? Are their Addreſſes againſt the Sitting of Parliaments, their *abhorring* the Rights of Petitioning, their Prayers for a *Popiſh* Succeſſor, already forgotten? Is all Remembrance loſt of Sir *Humphrey Mackworth*'s Addreſs to King *James* from the *Temple, thanking him heartily for ſeizing the Cuſtoms contrary to Law?* and that from High-Church at *Carliſle*, as *heartily thanking him for protecting them by an Army* of *Iriſh* Cut-throats? No certainly: The Drudgery of running thro' ſuch a deteſted Period will ſurely be excus'd, ſince there

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are ſo many Hundreds of Thouſands of *Britons* who can ſpeak of theſe things, which they both felt, as well as heard and underſtood: Much leſs will it be neceſſary to run thro' King *William*'s Reign, to treat of their Conſpiracies to deſtroy him and his Government, their Intrigues and Cabals to perplex and puzzle his *Councils*, that *Lewis* XIV. might ſubject us and themſelves to his own *Tyranny*: And ſtill much leſs neceſſary to enter into their deſperate Meaſures to break a *Confederacy* that had juſt broken the *Powers* of *France*, and their dark and black Deſigns againſt the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*, the only Support of our Liberties and the Liberties of all *Europe*; their horrible Treaſons ſince His Majeſty's Happy and Glorious Acceſſion to the Throne; their Rebellions againſt his moſt juſt and moſt gracious Government; tho', I confeſs, that 'twas the Conſideration of theſe laſt Enormities of theirs, which put me upon opening the *Tory* Cabinet; out of which, was it not for the good Providence of God, and King *GEORGE* his Vicegerent's Protection, would iſſue more Plagues than the Fable tells us were in *Pandora*'s Box.

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To undertake a Diſcourſe which brought me under a Neceſſity of converſing with the Hiſtory of ſuch Men, is no little ſign of a publick Spirit: For nothing leſs Noble could put a Loyal Subject on ſo diſtaſtful a Buſineſs. To ſee that *Engliſhmen*, ſuch as call themſelves our Fellow-Chriſtians and Fellow-Citizens, ſhould in all their Actions, all their Diſcourſes, ſhew an invincible Hatred to their Country's Good, and make a Boaſt of their Infamy, muſt needs be grating to every true *Briton*, who has the leaſt Grain of Generoſity and Humanity in his Temper. There might be other Ways of dealing with them leſs ſhocking than *Reproaches*, which are rather apt to exaſperate than convert, were they not a *Faction* as incorrigible as they are inſolent. No Man in the World would go farther in Complyance with 'em than my ſelf, was it conſiſtent with my Duty to God and my King. But while they are Enemies to Moderation and Charity; while they continue Factious and Seditious, and give daily freſh Grounds to believe, they would be Trayterous had they the leaſt hope of Succeſs, all Complacency to ſuch is Cruelty to our ſelves. For Mercy it ſelf is ſo when extended to the Revengeful and Impenitent.

I may be now ask'd, to what End I put these Reflections together: To which I need only reply, that if I have prov'd my Position, That *Torism* is *Worse than Popery*; it will naturally follow, that to trust and employ *Tories* any more than *Papists*, is, in Politicks, more absurd and more dangerous to the Constitution.

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